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No. 1,166 London, Oct. 31, 1958. 6d. Edition 10 cents
US Air Express

Why not make Nasser's dream come true?

AS PEACE NEWS SEES IT

UNDER the present conceptions of international politics it is not surprising that most Western com-
ment, so far, on Russia's 400,000,000 roubles aid to
Egypt for the first stage of the Aswan
Dam project has carried an unmistak-
able whiff of sordidness and something
like ill-will.

According to The Times, which reported
the facts objectively on October 24, the
attitude of Western representatives was that
they did not "regard Russia's involvement
in the economic aid field as necessarily a
disadvantage" for their countries, because it
meant that less (Soviet) resources would be
available for any eventual arms race and
also because it might well produce differ-
ences of view and opposition to Govern-
ment policy inside the Communist Party.

The next day, on October 25, even the
liberal-minded News Chronicle gave the
tendentious title "Nasser's Dream can turn
into Despair" to an article on the subject,
the main point of which was to feature the
difficulties Egypt may encounter—partly with
regard to additional finance for the comple-
tion of the whole project, and partly with
Sudan about the division of the Nile water.

Other comment, needless to say, was even
less inspired with good will for President
Nasser's determination to carry through the
most practical long-term plan for the better-
ment of Egypt's conditions of life. It is as
foolish to gloat over the fact that the
amount of Russian aid offered will cover
only the first stage of the Nasser plan (so
that he runs the risks of "finding himself
out on a limb" when it comes to the sub-
sequent stages) as it is to growl that Egypt
will now be drawn into closer association
with the Soviets.

Room for West too

Those for whom the human duty to help
the world's poorer countries is not enough
in itself should realise that here is a case
where self-interest coincides with higher
motives. In its entirety, the Aswan Dam
project means an expenditure estimated at
£400,000,000, towards which Russia has so
far promised to furnish £33,000,000 if the
rouble is taken at the official rate of ex-
change. There is, therefore, plenty of room
left for additional financial help, to say
nothing of the diplomatic and political help
the West could give in order to smooth the
way towards agreement with the Sudan,
which, let it be remembered, can also be
brought within the scope of the benefits to
be derived from the best possible use of the
Nile waters.

If that line of thought and policy is fol-
lowed, the Aswan Dam project can become
a first and grandiose example of economic
co-operation, instead of rivalry, between the
Soviets and the West for the good of two
under-developed countries. It is not only the
Russians who would be wise to render less
resources available "for any eventual arms
race."

The H-tests

7 MONTHS TALK —NO ACTION

An Editorial

"WHAT the world public would like is some action bearing visible
results. They are sick to death of the talk and double talk... Let the
experts of the East and West, the men who devised the Bomb tell the
world that the tests can be stopped and the stopping of them effectively
checked," wrote the News Chronicle in an editorial in June this year.

So that readers can judge how seriously the great powers
have treated the tests, we print below a summary of develop-
ments since April this year.

Response to Russia's suspension

MARCH. The Russians, after they had carried out a series
of tests of very great intensity announced that they would
suspend the tests of nuclear weapons. (There had been re-
ports in a Danish newspaper that the Russians had been
forced to temporarily abandon tests because of a large-scale

accident that had occurred during one
of their tests.)

The response of the West to the Russian
action was negative. Mr. Dulles announced
that the American Government had con-
sidered giving up the tests unilaterally in
order to be one up on the Russians but had
decided against it. The American series of
tests "operation hardtack" planned for the
summer would take place.

Gallup poll verdict

JUNE. A world-wide Gallup poll was
taken on the question "Do you think
that the United States should stop making
tests with nuclear weapons and H-bombs or
not?" Sixty-two per cent of the sample
thought that the Americans should.

Britain resumes tests

AUGUST. The UN report on the effects
of radiation suggested that bomb tests
might have already caused between 25,000
and 150,000 deaths from leukaemia. The
dangers of Strontium contamination were
greatest in the rice eating areas.

On the day after the report appeared the
British Government announced that it was
resuming its tests.

The report of the Geneva meeting of
scientific experts from East and West said
that it was possible to detect nuclear tests,
and on the basis of this it was possible to
establish a control system.

[Earlier in the year Edward Teller, one of
the most prominent scientists in the US
Atomic Energy Commission, and Admiral
Lewis Strauss, the then head of the Atomic
Energy Commission, had said that they were
opposed to the suspension of tests and "con-
tended that a nation could evade an agree-
ment with underground tests represented as
earthquakes." Replying to a question in the
House of Commons, Mr. Macmillan had
said on April 5: "We now have specific
evidence confirming that a deliberate attempt
to hold a nuclear test explosion so as to
avoid detection would almost certainly be
successful."]

Public opinion

OCTOBER. The Russians resumed their
tests. The Americans and British have
also continued with theirs. On Sunday it
was announced that the US had carried out
two further test explosions and that the
Atomic Energy Commission had detected a
Russian test on the previous day.

Today (October 31) the conference on an
agreement for the ending of tests begins.
The Russians announced at the beginning
of the week that they would be attending
but they also insisted on their right
to carry out more tests so that they can
catch up with the British and the Americans.

It is clear from these events that none of
the Governments have made serious efforts
to end the tests. "What the world would
like is some action bearing visible results."

It is the responsibility of public opinion
to see that there are some visible results
from the Conference that begins on Friday.

POSTER RECEPTION FOR IKE



Two hundred pickets greet Ike with a Quemoy protest. (See back page.)

Women's mission against tests

TWO more names have been announced for the deputation flying to Geneva
to-morrow (Saturday) to demand an end to nuclear tests.

They are Mrs. Peggy Darvell, London
Quaker and Chairman of the London
Regional Committee of the Campaign for
Nuclear Disarmament, and Miss Pat Arrow-
smith, Secretary of the Aldermaston March
Committee, and now field worker for the
Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear
War.

"We consider ourselves as representatives
of the women of the world who are worried
about the results of these tests," Mrs. Dar-
vell told Peace News on Tuesday.

Several groups have booked coaches to
carry supporters to London Airport to-
morrow morning, Saturday, where special
arrangements have been made for them to
go on to the roof to give a send-off to the
delegation.

Supporters should be there at about 8.45
a.m.

Lobbying of MPs and a vigil outside the
House of Commons has been proceeding
this week.

All MPs have been sent a circular giving

details of the dangers arising from the tests
and explaining why the lobby and vigil is
taking place.

Co-ops oppose bases

A NUMBER of resolutions calling on the
British Labour movement to oppose the
establishment of missile bases are on the
agenda of the forthcoming Annual Confer-
ence of the London Co-operative Party.

"As an immediate practical step to arouse
public opinion to the fact that the bases
render Britain liable to an attack against
which there is no defence," Borough and
County Councillors are to be asked "to
press through their groups for the abandon-
ment of all local CD activities."

Another motion calls for more support
for "Newly-developing countries" and asks
the Party's Political Committee to "in-
augurate a programme of activities in sup-
port of the International Co-operative Alli-
ance Development Fund."

De Gaulle studies conscientious objection proposals

From MICHAEL RANDLE

FRANCE may soon have a statute recognising the right of conscientious objection to military service. This follows the ten month old campaign by the new French pacifist weekly "Liberté" and the Committee for Aid to Conscientious Objectors, launched in conjunction with the paper.

The Committee which includes such notable figures as Albert Camus, Jean Cocteau, Abbé Pierre, Lanza del Vasto, Bernard Buffet and others, has drawn up and submitted to General de Gaulle a draft Bill which would provide for COs to undertake alternative service with the Service Civil International or other such body engaged in humanitarian work.

CO units, it suggests, could undertake rescue work of various kinds or be placed at the disposal of under-developed countries.

SOME COs RELEASED

In a covering letter the authors of the Bill remind the General and his Ministers of the advances made in other countries.

"It is urgent," they say, "that a Bill for conscientious objection be adopted. The matter has become so obvious that the Minister of the Armed Forces, obviously with the consent of the whole government, is devoting his energies to the study of such a measure. This is an extremely good sign."

France, which has one of the worst records of any Western country in the treatment of COs, recently ordered the release of Edmund Schaguene (after serving ten years' imprisonment) and of all COs who had served five years or more in prison. The Bill would ensure that such harsh and brutal treatment could not take place in future.

Atomic scientist talks of remarkable report

IF a war were to come, said Sir George Thomson, President of the Atomic Scientists Association, and "a substantial proportion of the nuclear weapons already manufactured were delivered against urban targets, most centres of civilisation in the belligerent countries would be totally destroyed and most of the population killed." This should now be a platitude, commented Sir George. He was afraid, however, that many people still did not accept it.

Sir George was speaking at a meeting arranged by the Association of Atomic Scientists to make a public report on the proceedings of the third "Pugwash" conference held in Vienna last month.

Discussing the report, Sir George said that perhaps the most remarkable thing about it was that it existed. It was important that such a wide measure of agreement between scientists from both sides of the Iron Curtain had been possible on such controversial issues.

These remarks of Sir George Thomson have aroused some interest since Sir George has played an important part in the formation of Government scientific policy since the beginning of the World War II. That he can suggest such important changes of attitude in the matter of international scientific policy while retaining his position as a Government adviser is considered to be of some significance.

CD PROPAGANDA

Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, who was also at the Pugwash conference, referred to Mr. Butler's speech on the BBC about Civil Defence. "An unfounded faith in defensive measures may actually contribute to the danger of war," she said.

Much CD propaganda depended on the existence of things like water to wash with and electricity to run vacuum cleaners which could remove radio-active dust. If nuclear weapons were ever used such things were unlikely to be available, said Kathleen Lonsdale.

Drogheda: where opposing views come face to face

BREACHING THE SCHISMS IN IRELAND

By Geoffrey Carnall

ONLY those who know Ireland will fully appreciate the unexpectedness of a conference in which the partition question was amicably discussed by a Sinn Féiner, strict Roman Catholics, and convinced Unionists. This, however, was what happened at Drogheda, some 30 miles north of Dublin, over the week-end of October 18-19.

The conference was organised by the Irish Pacifist Movement and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and its aim was to consider the causes of division and mistrust in Ireland today between Nationalist and Unionist, between Catholic and Protestant. About 100 people attended, including a strong contingent from Northern Ireland.

The first address was by Mr. Myles P. Shevlin. He is a member of the Sinn Féin party, which gives political support to the Irish Republican Army at present fighting the British forces in the North. ("My God!" he said; "me speaking to pacifists!") He spoke to the text, "The British troops must go," and his main argument was that the interests of Britain and Ireland were essentially different; that over the centuries Britain had guarded its own interests at the expense of the Irish.

When it became clear that Ireland must be allowed independence, those who profited by British rule insisted on partition as a second-best to domination of the whole Island. He was sure that differences between Irishmen could be solved satisfactorily, but a solution could not be found while the British interfered. That interference must be swept away for ever.

End non-recognition

This view was contested by Alderman W. R. Boyd, a young Labour MP in the Northern Ireland House of Commons. He maintained that partition merely recognised the fact of the existence of two ways of life in Ireland. He personally felt that he had more in common with socialists and trade unionists in Britain than with any group in the Republic.

British troops, he said, were in Ulster because the majority wanted them. Their withdrawal would not alter the resistance of that majority to the ending of partition, and

might well cause bloodshed. The Labour movement was making a real contribution to increasing confidence between Protestants and Catholics, who worked side by side in the trade unions.

The best thing the Republic could do would be to end its policy of non-recognition of the Northern Government. On that basis, he was sure that the North would be willing to co-operate wholeheartedly with the South.

Consider criticism

The final session was addressed by the Rev. G. B. G. McConnell, of Donore Presbyterian Church, Dublin. He insisted on the need to face differences clearly, and above all to consider how far the criticism of opponents might be justified. He questioned whether Unionists really faced the gerrymandering accusation squarely, or whether Sinn Féin really understood their own presumption in trying to end partition by coercion, or whether the Catholics really appreciated Protestant fears for religious liberty.

It would be impossible to give an adequate report of the discussions which followed the three addresses. As at the Drogheda conference last year, several pleas were made for ending the state of affairs by which Catholics in the North were treated as second-class citizens. Men took to the gun because they felt cheated by constitutional methods. Mr. Shevlin had none the less to listen to much criticism of the futile activities of the IRA, which he bore with commendable fortitude.

It was agreed that fear of the Roman Catholic Church lay behind much of the social division in the North, and it was therefore decided to hold another conference to consider Catholic and Protestant views of the relations between Church and State.

fitting comment, surely, on the worth of the pronouncements of the present Primate!

A Dane to speak

LONDONERS will have an early opportunity of hearing Niels Jonassen, the new assistant secretary of the War Resisters' International when he addresses the Reunion of Walthamstow and District Conscientious Objectors.

This is very much an open meeting, and anyone interested to hear Niels—who is the son of Denmark's leading pacifist worker, Hagbaard Jonassen—should make a note in their diaries to be at William Morris Hall, Somers Road, Walthamstow, at 3.30 p.m. on Saturday, November 8. (623 or 625 trolley bus to the "Lord Palmerston" stop will get them near the hall.)

The chairman will be Ted Redhead, MP, wartime treasurer of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

What it means to refugee children

"THESE PEOPLE MATTER" is the title of a new 20-minute 16 mm. sound film illustrating the work being carried out by International Help for Children.

IHC are prepared to show it to groups during the winter without fees but with a collection to meet expenses. Enquiries to John Barclay, 43, Parliament St., London, S.W.1.

Accidents happen

A BOOK just published in the USA shows how military bumbling can lead to a huge loss of life, and provides a warning of the greater threat now to mankind in the nuclear age.

"Abandon Ship!" describes the torpedoing by the Japanese of the heavy cruiser Indianapolis, and what followed:

AT LEAST NOT QUISLINGS



I'M told that at the Drogheda Conference the genial supporter of the Irish Republican Army was sufficiently affected by his surroundings to concede on the second day that to call Unionists "Quislings" was perhaps to use overcoloured language. He contented himself with the suggestion that they were "not playing a clean game."

Rome wasn't built in a day and the Irish problem is not going to be solved by one or two week-end conferences. But the growth in the numbers attending the second Drogheda conference, and in the readiness of influential people to participate, is encouraging.

On this side of the Atlantic it is perhaps the nearest approach in pacifist action in recent years to the much more dramatic intervention of pacifists at Montgomery and other places in the Deep South of the USA.

We've all a long way to go from Drogheda. We've yet to get to grips with the bigger dispute which looks like ending civilisation.

But we are happy to be reporting on Drogheda this week. We hope you will think so too, and think it an occasion for sending a contribution to the Peace News Fund which keeps the paper alive.

THE EDITOR.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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Contributions since Feb. 1, 1958: £1,382. Needed before Feb. 1, 1959: £618.

Contributions received with thanks: Anon. 10s.

CITIES START INSPECTION

THE Dutch cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague are organising inspection services to test food-stuffs with regard to possible radio-activity.

This move follows recent warnings about the reality of the danger of radio-active food-poisoning.

It is reported that these inspection services will begin to function towards the end of the present year.

No look-out spotted the submarine; Nobody heard the SOS;

Nobody checked up on a "tapped" report from a Japanese submarine saying it had sunk a battleship in the position where the warship should have been;

None of the planes flying in the vicinity spotted the wreckage;

When the wreckage was spotted 84 hours later it was by accident;

The fact that the boat was overdue for training exercises was overlooked.

An enquiry later revealed that hundreds of lives might have been saved.

*By Richard F. Newcomb Holt.

De-bunking from Germany

A READER on holiday in Germany came across this piece of de-bunking on a leaflet headed "Always the same slogans":

Imperial Army, 1914: God with us! For Emperor and Empire! German ways will make the world healthy! God punish England!

Wehrmacht, 1935: Guarantee peace! For Fuhrer, people and fatherland! Fight for a new European settlement! Beware of the Bolshevik danger!

West German Federal Army, 1957: For freedom and democracy! Make peace safe through a policy of strength! Defend Christian culture and the Christian West! Guard against Communism!

East German People's Army, 1957: For peace and socialism! Peace army protects the home! Defend the workers' and peasants' state! Fight against monopoly capitalism!

The leaflet concludes: "... and the result is always the same: ruins, corpses and cripples."



Pacifists were able to secure his support for a number of humanitarian causes which were unpopular at the time of their birth—e.g., a more liberal attitude towards Germany at the end of the war. And, quite early, in a National Peace Council booklet, Dr. Bell put forward the view that to take the initiative in exploding the hydrogen bomb was "clearly morally wrong."

A well-informed writer in the Bognor Regis Observer, a newspaper published in the see of Chichester, stated that, but for his stand against terror bombing, he might have been made Archbishop in 1944, in succession to Dr. Temple.

"During the war," says the Bognor Regis Observer, "it was argued that it would clearly have been embarrassing to have a Primate in the Lords who could not be counted on to take the official view." A

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NATO AND THE COLD WAR

THE ASSUMPTION that war is now a continuing condition has encouraged military experts to make pronouncements on subjects where they speak with authority and on subjects where they speak with no authority. Field-Marshal Montgomery's lecture to the Royal United Services Institute was a good example of this.

There are obviously matters on which Field-Marshal Montgomery can speak with great authority because of his special knowledge. When he speaks of NATO as being "complicated, cumbersome and grossly overstuffed" he is dealing with something of which he has intimate knowledge. If it is true, as he claims, that details of NATO's operations are the subjects of interminable arguments on more than 100 committees, it would seem that "Parkinson's law" also operates at the Palais de Chaillot.

Similarly, when Lord Montgomery talks about military strategy, given his basic assumptions, those without his intimate knowledge are in no position to challenge him.

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BECAUSE to-day we are dominated by the cold war,

Lord Montgomery assumes that he can speak with authority on subjects like economic and political questions of which he has little knowledge. We should not regard his opinions on these matters as being of great importance.

In his memoirs, Lord Montgomery claims that "Defence problems have got into the hands of the foreign ministers who know little about the subject, and, anyway, are not responsible for defence." His remedy for this, suggested in his lecture, is that overall political policy should be in the hands of the defence planners. To that end he wants NATO under joint British, French and US leadership to be more closely knit together.

General de Gaulle also wants this. Whatever the present German view, it is unlikely that a future German Government will accept such an arrangement once Germany has become the foremost European military power.

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FROM his comments about the way the US Government

"sabotaged" the Suez operation and how different the situation in the Middle East would now be if the US had been more reasonable, it would seem that Lord Montgomery wants a reconstructed NATO to be able to deal with matters of this kind.

Lord Montgomery's views on this have about as much authority as the views of Captain Waterhouse. Their standing as the democratic expression of a view held by a section of British opinion is, of course, much less.

The danger of this kind of military thinking on political matters is shown by the different sense in which the term "cold war" is used. Sometimes it is regarded as implying measures of hostility that do not include actual fighting but upon which NATO military planners are to have the deciding word. Sometimes it seems to embrace any kind of war short of a resort to H-bombs, but including the use of tactical nuclear weapons (which, according to Lord Montgomery are the conventional tactical weapons of tomorrow).

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THE organisational set-up of NATO is due for a review in April next, after it has completed ten years of operation. This is why Lord Montgomery (and General de Gaulle) have put forward plans for its reconstruction.

A prior consideration before this is dealt with inside the framework of a continuing cold war is whether there is any possibility of bringing the cold war to an end. An end to the cold war should mean the end of NATO. It is not to army commanders that we look for plans to bring this about.

Pasternak's prize

AN ideological diversion carefully planned," is the way the Russian Literary Gazette describes the decision to award this year's Nobel prize for literature to Boris Pasternak, author of the novel, *Dr. Zhivago*, which has been much translated and has a considerable world circulation but has not been permitted to be printed in Russia. The prize has been awarded for Pasternak's verse and not for the forbidden novel, and it is of course possible that the adjudicating committee has kept sternly out of account any consideration of Pasternak's independence and courage and the conditions under which he had had to work.

It would not be surprising, however, if the committee has found some special satisfaction in the opportunity to witness in favour of freedom of expression. Even if this were the only consideration in the minds of the members of the committee it would be, not a stroke against Russia, but a stroke on behalf of artistic liberty.

It is only in relation to totalitarian countries that this kind of problem can arise, and it would destroy the character of the prize if it could only be awarded after governments had been consulted.

It may be noted, however, that it is only from the journal of Pasternak's writing colleagues that the fiercest condemnation of the award and of Pasternak's work has come, and it may have in it something of the spite felt by those who have had to compromise their own artistic integrity for a man who has managed to retain his own. We make this comment in no unfeeling sense, for the pressure on writers in Communist countries is formidable. There has not been the same fierce condemnation from Government and Communist Party sources.

The prize is due to be presented in Stockholm on December 10, and Pasternak hopes to be able to attend to receive it. There is, of course, doubt whether the Russian authorities will permit him to leave for Stockholm. If the prize were related to the novel they would obviously find it difficult to let him go and continue to refuse to allow the book to be published. As it has been explicitly stated that the award is for his verse, however, the Government may find it possible to permit him to go to Stockholm without this acuteness of embarrassment. It will be a welcome indication of Russia's painful struggle towards more liberal standards if he is permitted to go.

De Gaulle and Abbas

DESPITE the disappointment arising from the reply of the Algerian "Government in exile" to the overtures of General de Gaulle we shall not be surprised if before very long the General and M. Ferhat Abbas do meet for negotiations.

There is reason to believe that General de Gaulle had put out feelers before he issued the invitation to the FLN leaders to come to Paris; and although he spoke at his Press conference in terms of a cease-fire it is quite evident that the conversations would have had to cover more than the merely military aspects of the termination of hostilities.

On the one hand M. Ferhat Abbas, the Algerian leader, had set aside the acceptance of the claim for independence as a precondition of the talks, while General de Gaulle had spoken of changes in Algeria following an evolutionary process. He referred to a possible linking up of Algeria and France "with the free States of Morocco and Tunisia" and clearly foresaw the possibility of developments that are not contemplated by people like MM. Serigny and Soustelle.

It is interesting to compare what General de Gaulle said at his Press conference with an interview, given before the General's conference, by M. Ferhat Abbas and published in the Daily Mail last Saturday. This not only displayed an admirable spirit of conciliation throughout, but contemplated the possibility, following a cease-fire, of negotiations which might last two years or more, because "a peaceful solution is preferable to a cruel war."

M. Abbas has doubtless been under pressure from elements in the FLN that are not so anxious as he is to bring the slaughter to an end; while it is equally evident that General de Gaulle has encountered similar difficulties on his own side, for M. Soustelle, who is unfortunately Minister of Information in the present French Government, has used the radio services to address the Algerian nationalists in very different terms from those adopted by General de Gaulle.

The situation will doubtless be clarified when the elections have taken place, and it may be hoped that those in France as well as those in Algeria will make a contribution to providing the conditions for peace.

Police and priests

CHARGES that torture has been used upon Algerians have now arisen in France as well as in Algeria itself. M. Pelletier, General de Gaulle's Minister of the Interior, has sought to meet these by saying that

members of the FLN are under permanent orders to complain of torture by the police. That there may be a certain element of truth in this is quite possible, for both tortures and accusations of torture are equally part of the methods of conflict in any war, and they are seldom confined to one side only.

The new charges, however, would seem to have the stamp of truth. In any case, they are of a rather special character. They come from Cardinal Gerlier, Archbishop of Lyons, and follow the surrender of one of his priests, "wanted" by the police, to the magistrature. The priest, Father Carteron, with his Archbishop's approval, had been assisting a relief organisation which helped the families of Algerians in prison under charges of terrorism or connivance in FLN activities. It was a condition that this relief work should not be associated with any political activity or acts of terrorism.

In the course of carrying on these activities it was found that the police resorted to "violence and the most serious torture."

Father Carteron disappeared when arrests began to occur and he knew that he himself was wanted, and he has presented himself to the magistrature rather than to the police because he claims that he himself feared torture. One of the charges made by Cardinal Gerlier is that Muslim suspects have been tortured by the police in order to provide support for allegations against the priests who have been occupied in this work of mercy.

Niemoeller goes back

THE Peace Pledge Union has expressed to Doctor Martin Niemoeller its very great regret at the fact that his treatment by immigration authorities at London Airport was such as to make him feel it necessary to return to Germany without fulfilling his engagements here.

The matter has also been taken up with the Home Office, who have been requested by the PPU to give their version and explanation.

There is an added irony to the situation, since it coincided with the visit of President Heuss with all the protestations of friendship between Britain and West Germany. When it is remembered that Martin Niemoeller, for his outspokenness, was removed from his pastorate and suffered years of imprisonment under Hitler, it would be ludicrous, if it were not so discourteous, that any question about any visit he might wish to pay here should be raised.

Why should a man who had the courage to challenge Hitler be so treated by immigration officers, when not only President Heuss is received as a welcome guest, but previously one of Hitler's generals was received here, if not with open arms, at any rate with arms at the present?

The following extract from *Les Oeuvres de Napoleon III*, of the edition of 1855, included in *The Times* extract of a hundred years ago last Saturday is not without interest today:

"The first of all liberties, namely, that of going where you please, is never interfered with (in England); for there no one is ever asked for passports—that oppressive invention of the Committee of Public Safety—which are an embarrassment and an obstacle to all peaceable citizens, but which are in no way an impediment to those who wish to baffle the vigilance of authority."

African women

THE comic farce of the protest of the African women against the endeavour of the South African Government to make them carry passes is a heartening counterpart to the tragic farce of the "treason" trial now awaiting its third phase, in which the Government is contemplating the framing of a new indictment to replace the one which, after proceedings lasting two years, it has felt it necessary to withdraw.

As we write the number of women arrested for illegal demonstrations against the carrying of passes has reached 1,700, including the latest contingent of 800 from Alexandra, who travelled into Johannesburg to reinforce the Sophiatown women and cheered when they were arrested after being ordered to disperse, and sang and danced when the police vans came up to take them away.

In this and other forms of demonstration against the attempt to force them, like their menfolk, to carry passes the women are manifesting the utmost good humour and a sense of fun. They are bringing a new quality to non-violent resistance, and as they crowd into the prisons it will be of great interest to observe the outcome.



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Photo Unations

LAST week we published a digest of an official statement by the US Government of US policy towards China, with comments on this statement prepared by a team of US Quaker research workers for the Washington Newsletter. This is the second part.

Official US Position: Diplomatic recognition is a privilege and not a right. "Moreover, the United States considers that diplomatic recognition is an instrument of national policy." The People's Republic of China does not qualify for recognition because it does not rule all of China, and the Communist Party which holds mainland China in its grip is a tiny minority of less than two per cent of the Chinese people. Nor has it shown any intention to honour its international obligations, including various provisions of the Korean Armistice, the Geneva Accord on Viet-Nam, and the agreement of September, 1955, by which it pledged itself to permit all Americans in China to return home "expeditiously."

COMMENT: The People's Republic may not rule all of China but Chiang Kai-shek, whom we do recognise, rules even less. The United States has recognised other dictatorships in Latin America, the Far East and elsewhere.

It is true that China hasn't lived up to all her commitments. She has gone part way to abiding by the agreement of September, 1955, by returning 37 of the remaining 41 prisoners of war. Possibly if she were accepted as an integral part of the world community she might feel more incentive and more pressure to honour other obligations.

NON-RECOGNITION

Official US Position: Non-recognition does not mean that we are ignoring 600 million Chinese. On the contrary, it is not necessary to have diplomatic relations with a regime in order to deal with it. Furthermore, "the United States is convinced that the Chinese Communist regime does not represent the true will or aspirations of the Chinese people and that our policy of withholding recognition" is in their "ultimate interest."

COMMENT: By non-recognition our Government is isolating itself and the American people from almost one-quarter of the human race. Under the non-recognition policy, Americans are not permitted to travel in China. This means that most of our news from that vast land must filter through French and British correspondents, that students of Chinese culture are cut off from many primary sources, that concerned citizens are handicapped in their desire to go and see and understand. Under such a policy, how can we know about the "will or aspirations" of the Chinese people?

Furthermore, there are many long-term ties between China and the United States which should not be allowed to wither away. During the last century American churches, foundations and other agencies made a large investment in China, which must have left a considerable reservoir of goodwill. The anti-United States crusade by the Communist government is attempting to stamp this out, but visitors to China from other nations testify to a large amount of friendliness on the part of the Chinese people. The resumption of diplomatic relations might release some of this goodwill and help ease the internal pressures upon those who are favourably disposed towards the West.

TRADE

Official US Position: Recognition would not weaken the bond with Moscow, which dates back to 1921. The two partners "clearly realise their mutual dependence and attach great importance to bloc unity vis-a-vis the free world." Of particular importance is the fact that the Chinese depend upon Russia for their military supplies.

COMMENT: Non-recognition is giving

the Chinese Government little alternative but to strengthen military, economic and cultural ties with the Soviet Union. If Communist China were represented in the UN many feel she might well adopt a more independent line.

Official US Position: Recognition is not necessary in order to expand trade with China. Of course, this is not a consideration with the United States since it does not trade with China. But other countries should note that trade opportunities vis-a-vis Communist China are severely limited by China's shortage of foreign exchange. Such trade is also at the mercy of ever-changing Communist political considerations.

COMMENT: The United States has had a total embargo on trade with China since December, 1950, and has urged other nations to adopt a similar policy. A number of other nations maintained a fairly stringent embargo on strategic exports, 1951-57, but they have now revolted against American pressures and have dropped some of these restrictions. Although there is some

question as to the size of the China market, this market is important to certain countries, such as Japan, and to particular producers, such as rubber growers. The United States should recognise that our rigid trade policy has caused bitterness among our allies and has added to tensions in the Far East.

MORAL ISSUE

Official US Position: Forty-five non-Communist countries recognise the Republic of China. Only 19 countries [32 counting Communist countries] have recognised the Peking Government, and most of these did so before the Korean War. Recognition by a leading free world nation would therefore be interpreted as an important victory for the Chinese Communists and as a sign of free world reluctance to stand up to Communist pressures. Other free nations would also extend recognition. This would greatly enhance the "prestige, influence and power" of the Communist Chinese regime and "make more difficult the effort to maintain

free world security in the Pacific Area."

COMMENT: The United States is naturally concerned that its actions do not involve compromises of principle or appeasement. Political choices are not always between a clear moral course and an immoral one. Oftentimes they are difficult and complex choices between two moral considerations. The overriding question now is what course will more likely prevent a third World War, and what is more likely to advance the process of negotiation and settlement.

A deep moral issue is whether more humility on the part of the West, more forbearance, more efforts at reconciliation and common understanding, more repentance, would not be more appropriate from people who call themselves Christian in their ethical outlook, and might not advance the cause of peace and justice better than revenge, hatred, isolation and bitterness. We have to learn to co-exist, or in a hydrogen bomb era it is likely we will cease to exist.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

'Quaker Peace'

SYBIL MORRISON'S article (PN, Oct. 17) on this subject is to be welcomed as some corrective to a very unsatisfactory and misleading episode in the current "Lion's Den" series of the BBC. She has, of course, given a very full answer to one of the platitudes which Sir Brian Horrocks "got away with."

But one must enquire why he was able to do this in the face of what should have been his defensive position: Sir Brian was, in fact, as presumably becomes a soldier, well on the attack the whole time, even if he "got away with murder" on a number of occasions. The other two "Lions' Den" appointments which I happen to have seen had "Daniel" on the defensive for much of the time with, on the whole, the honours going to the lions, especially in the case of the "colour" debate.

Now why should the Quakers have appeared in such a poor light even to a convinced pacifist? And to the non-pacifist viewer I feel "pacifism" may have appeared a very poor affair. Certain surface reasons for this occur to one. Sir Brian is so obviously "a decent chap," if a clever deployer of current platitudes.

Then we are told that the meeting was rather over stage-managed, thereby not allowing proper reply by the Quakers to some of Sir Brian's points, which, as Sybil Morrison has shown in one case, were extremely vulnerable. But the Friends were not very convincing even when they did speak, and it is interesting to note that the most effective speakers, generally, were, as in the "colour" debate, women.

I feel we must go deeper, however, for an explanation of the unfortunate impression left by this debate, and for what appear to be other ineffective excursions of pacifism into what we should recognise is a fallen world.

The original witness of Fox and the Friends was not primarily pacifism, but an evangelical preaching of the Word, with a central conviction of the Divinity of Christ. To what extent does such a belief exist in present-day Quakerism? So far as I have been able to observe, belief is at best nebulous, with the result that the Friends have become a very worthy ethical society, with a somewhat hazy belief in the Inner Light.

This is no basis for a dynamic witness to anything, including pacifism, which must be truly Christian in its inspiration or be

nothing; "without Me ye can do nothing" surely makes that clear.

Admittedly, other so-called Christian bodies have lost much of their former evangelical inspiration, and trade spurious ethics, originally Christian, for the pure gold of the Kingdom; but that is small consolation, and the fact remains that the pacifist cause tarries for want of a true Evangel; and may well tarry, with other "good causes" until once more, as has ever been required, men are born again by an effective preaching of Christ and His resurrection.—P. R. LANE, 22 Hill Rd., Clevedon, Somerset.

Social reforms

WHILST the world is one vast armaments factory, designed for the extermination of mankind, talk of social reforms is almost irresponsible. We are living in the final phase of a civilisation built on war. Our only hope of survival is its renunciation.—WINIFRED GREENFIELD, 16a, Hillside Gardens, London, N.6.

Labour Party Conference

IT was very disheartening for one who has worked so hard to increase the sale of Peace News and to further the cause of pacifism to read your comment, "Pacifists and Labour," last week.

I should be very interested to know why, if you thought the resolution on unilateral nuclear disarmament to be superior to the Hull resolution, Peace News issue of July 25 urged members of the Labour Party to support the Hull resolution, when in fact there were several resolutions on the agenda in almost the exact terms as the composite one moved at the Conference on unilateral nuclear disarmament.

As for the inference that the first two parts of my resolution were misleading and did not mean unilateral disarmament I can only conclude that your reporter did not hear either my full remarks that I made in moving the resolution, or Mr. Gaitskill's reply.

He said if the Hull resolution had been for multilateral disarmament he would have accepted it. "It is quite clear that it is not. It is pacifist, and was ask you to reject it," he said.

It seems curious that Tribune seems to have understood the resolution better than Peace News. Their report said, "from Hull came the straight pacifist argument." They also reported that I had asked for a statement on the ending of conscription.

I cannot understand why the issue of Sir Richard Acland and the pacifist abstentions come into the argument on the respective merits of the resolutions.

I was encouraged by the number of delegates at the Conference who came to me and said how surprised and delighted they were that the issue of unilateral total disarmament had ever reached the rostrum. It had the full support of their constituencies, because as socialists they felt this was the real issue.—VIOLET MITCHELL, 62 Blake St., Hull.

Blackpool brutalities

IT seems a pity that your comment last week on the violence of the Conservative Party stewards towards the League of Empire Loyalists at the Blackpool Conference should be more concerned apparently with the details of the alleged brutalities than with the pacifist answer to the difficulties posed by determined interrupters.

You rightly remark that the League of Empire Loyalists do not appear to arrange meetings for the purpose of stating their case, but rely upon breaking up other people's meetings by shouting out slogans. You then fail to take this important point to its logical conclusion.

Surely the proper course is for the Chairman to offer five, or even ten, minutes to the interrupter to state his case, and then to suggest that if he is not willing, or able to do so, that he should either be silent or leave. If he should refuse to do any of these things it would be interesting to know how long, in face of no resistance from either audience, platform or stewards, he could keep it up. I feel confident that such tactics would defeat him; in any case, I am sure they are the right ones.

Incidentally, the suffragettes knew they would be turned out, and they came to know that they would be brutally, savagely and sometimes obscenely handled. They must be ruefully smiling to-day at this outburst of public indignation about "fascist" brutality; neither the adjective, nor the indignation were known in their day!

Both the interrupters and the ejectors are using coercive methods, and if comment is to be made in a pacifist journal it should be some attempt to put the pacifist answer to any kind of coercion. I merely suggest one way of dealing with organised interruption.—SYBIL MORRISON, 6 Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.

The view from the Metropol window

By MILTON MAYER

This is the first part of an article by Milton Mayer on his recent journey to the Soviet Union. Part II. will appear next week. Other articles on this topic by the writer will be appearing in forthcoming issues of Peace News.

A YEAR or so ago a couple of fun-loving East Texans tanked up on beer and gas and decided to do a little crow-shooting as they tore through Niggertown.

They got their crow through a window—a 16-year-old boy. They pleaded guilty, with extenuating circumstances; they were young (in their twenties), full of beer, going fast, and without personal malice towards the boy they killed. The East Texas jury gave them a five-year suspended sentence.

Leaving Russia the other day, by way of Leningrad, I met an East Texan. I asked him how he'd liked Russia, and he said, "All I can say is thank God that I'm a citizen of the USA."

The Texan was, I think, simply venting the common persuasion—from which the tumbleweed itself may not be exempt—that it is better to be one place than another. He did not mean that the USA was a good place to be or a bad one, but had always been there. You will not be amazed to learn that there are Russians who have always been in Russia and who, after seeing East Texas (or the Bowery, or Shantytown, Pa.), thank Lenin that they are citizens of the USSR.

I went to Russia because I never knew what to say when people got up in the audience and said, "If you don't like it here, why don't you go to Russia?" Now I can say, "I did go to Russia, and I didn't like it there, either. Besides, I like it here. I like it there, too, as a matter of fact. Some of my best friends are Russians. Others are Texans."

You bring your Russia to Russia with you, and the Russia you brought with you is the Russia you take home. The Russia I brought with me was wonderful, and it's the Russia I take home.

We are all walking bundles of pre-conceptions. Mine were formed by Russian literature and by the idea of Christian Communism (Acts 4: 32-35), which, disused by the Christians, was being misused, but at least used by the anti-Christians. These pre-conceptions rested in turn upon my dissatisfaction with the popular, or Bad Man, theory of history. This dissatisfaction is, I hope, a manifestation of the faith that there is that of God in every man, even in Stalin and me; but it may be nothing but perversity.

Perversity warned me, while all the Times in America were celebrating Khrushchov's obliteration of Stalin, that I should not be surprised to go to Russia three years later and find the pictures of Lenin and Stalin, and of them alone, still hanging in every post office and the busts still standing in the lobbies of public buildings, and Stalin still holding down his half of the box in the Holy of Holies outside the Kremlin wall.

Never having been a left or right deviationist; never having bought the Worker's Paradise abroad or the White Man's Paradise at home, the perverse fellow can afford to blow himself to a chuckle at the sight of the purged Molotov toddling natively around Moscow, like the purged Brownell around Washington, and I should have been no more surprised or unhappy to see Malenkov in for a quick visit, and a couple of shows, from the Urals than to see Herbert Hoover in from the Coast Range to get his high collar vulcanised on Fifth Avenue. While perversity, unlike flattery, will get you nowhere, it does keep you from believing what you read, or write, in the newspapers.

I knew I should find it easy to love the Russians. I already loved those I knew;

there was something nutty, or strictly American, about them. They were no more open-minded than the Americans, and just as open-hearted. The writer Sergei Michalkow, when I first met him in the Tyrolean Alps in the dead of winter, was wearing an Argentine polo cap; and this summer he and I had a bucket of tea together in Moscow, and he suggested—in German, the only language we have in common—that we should go to China together and write a book about it. Who but an American or a Russian clowns around like that?

I FOUND it just a wee bit hard, after the war (as before), to love the Germans. But after I'd lived in Germany, with my wife and little ones, and I wanted to live in Russia, again with my wife and little ones, and I asked Martin Niemöller whether he thought we could bear it, he said, "Anybody who can live with the Germans can live a lot easier with the Russians. As long as you don't expect them to be good Americans—they're Russians, you know—you'll love them."

They are Russians, you know. We spent some time with two groups of American students on their way home, one from Cornell and vicinity and the other from Whittier College in California, and when we asked them what they liked best about Russia, they all hollered in ecstatic chorus, "The people," and when we asked them if they really like Communists, they said that, although the people they liked were Communists, that was not what they meant. The students, like all students, could teach their elders something. A few years ago, when I'd sat three days in the Soviet Embassy in Berlin without seeing anybody, and I complained (to Pastor Grueber of Berlin) that the Communists are slow, he said, "That's the whole trouble with the Americans. They think they're dealing with Communists, and they forget that they're dealing with Russians."

So I was prepared to go overboard, in Russia, and overboard I went. I didn't see Russia or the Russians in a month there, but neither did John Gunther; the view from the window of the Metropol Hotel is uninformative, and so are the canned interviews with the officials. But the streets and the buses and the shops and the cheap cafeterias are instructive, and I came to Russia to be instructed.

MY instruction began my first morning in Moscow. Our tourist group was scheduled to go with our girl guide to meet a stuffed shirt. I wanted instead to go to the Finnish Embassy, and I asked the guide if I might go alone. "Of course," she said. "Just take a taxi." "I wanna walk," I said. "You'll get lost," she said. "I wanna get lost," I said. "Then walk," she said, and she showed me Kropotkin Street on my map. "That's not where the Finnish Embassy is," she said. "It's in Little Kropotkin Street, which is not on the map. But it must be somewhere around Kropotkin Street. And if you get hopelessly lost, just go into any bookshop. They won't be able to tell you where it is, but they'll give you some books in English to read, and when it's lunchtime just show people this"—she gave me the name of the hotel on a slip of paper—"and go where they point."

I did get lost, and I got back through a maze of railroad tracks and construction projects, and I kept getting lost for a month. You don't have to know the language to find your way home; all you have to know is that you don't know your way home, and two hundred million Russians will show you. When our group left Moscow for the south, my wife and I want to stay on in Moscow and we asked the guide if we might. She explained that the whole group had one guide, so we'd have to stay on alone and find our own way around. We did, and our instruction proceeded, and myth after myth fell apart, beginning with

the myth that spies are fastened on tourists as guides.

Without the language, nobody ever yet got to know anything about a country and its people, and Russian is a difficult language because it's so rich, and an impossible language for newcomers because of its alphabet. It's you who insist on the guide—or interpreter, or spy. Without her you die, because without her you can not read the word for bread (much less know that it means bread or ask for bread).

That's why the question, "Do they let you travel around Russia alone?" is a laugh. Let you?—They couldn't make you. Two of the American Quakers who went to Russia in 1954 went all the way across to Tashkent; but one of them, Bill Edgerton, is a professor of Russian at Columbia. It's like this: When you see the word "Paris" on a French railroad station you've got at least a Free Chinaman's chance of knowing where you are, but you'll never get off the train at Leningrad alone (or the Moscow subway at Leningrad station) because the sign, which says "Leningrad" to a Russian, says gibberish to you and, without your guide, you panic.

The Man in the Street—the man you wanted to meet and pretend to have met—speaks his native language, in Russia as everywhere else. He is the Russian, and the only Russian. The natives you really meet (like the few multilingual native Americans you meet at home) are the cosmopolites. You never meet the Man in the Street, but if you stay in the street, and out of the ministries and the universities and the hotels and the restaurants, you meet his eyes, and his meet yours. You show him on your map where you want to go, and he insists (the spy!) on going with you to make sure you get there, and, when you get where you're going and you make the mistake of offering him a cigarette, he declines, or insists on your taking a more expensive Russian cigarette from him in exchange. The Russian Dialectical Materialist is the first non-materialistic man, as a whole people, you have ever met. He expects, and will accept, none of the customary contemptuous gratuities that, at home or abroad, you toss to the servile. The Swiss—says the German—live off the world's tips; not the Russian. There's no *Service 15%*, no *Kurtaxe*, no *Imposta di soggiorno*, no head waiter's petty panhandling. A day's wages—low—for a day's work. The Russian who does you a personal service and smiles, smiles because he wants to. Does it take an inhuman dictatorship to restore personal sentiment to personal relations? Heaven forbid.

You have been instructed, the first morning you were out on the street. You have learned that this Russian "slave" is a man of more dignity than you are accustomed to meeting abroad or at home. You reserve your astonishment, mistrusting your morning's experience. At the end of a month on the streets, your experience unvaried, your astonishment is complete. Your experience has extended to the kids you met at the Kremlin, who offer you Russian lapel pins of all sorts; what they want in exchange is an American (that is, a foreign) coin or stamp (of any denomination), and when your supply is exhausted and you offer a kid Russian money for a pin you want, he refuses it; and if you have some way of letting him know how badly you want that pin, your chances of his giving it to you are good.

THIS is the Russian who, your first morning out on the street, seemed to you to carry himself in a manner that reminded you of someone you had seen before; but of whom? Your third morning out you know; the Russian carries himself exactly like the jaunty, self-confident and unself-conscious Yank, the "outgoing man" of the sociologist's jargon; not the salesman, the panhandler, or the pusher, but the man who knows who and what and where he is,

where he is going and why and what he's about, and is ready to make friends for no other reason than friendship's.

Your eyes—and the Russian's—did not deceive you. He doesn't know he's a slave, and it is his view of his situation, not yours, that's decisive. You have not persuaded him that he is oppressed; maybe because he has always been oppressed, but, in that case, where is the hang-dog grin, the bowing and scraping, the "Yas-suh, boss" of the long oppressed who always mean "No-suh" and always say "Yas-suh"? This slave (as you call him) acts as if he owns the place. Maybe he does.

There used to be a sign in the corner saloon that said, "If You Spit on the Floor at Home, Spit on the Floor Here." There are no "No Smoking" signs in the roccoco subway stations of Moscow and Leningrad, and nobody smokes. Nobody. In our cities at home there are "Help Keep Our City Clean" signs on the trash receptacles on the sidewalks, and nobody helps keep our city clean; in cities in Russia there are no signs on the receptacles, and everybody helps keep the city spotlessly clean. Can it be because they really, in their socialised innocence, lap up that "Our City" stuff?

Or are they afraid? And of what, or whom? Nowhere outside America have I seen so few policemen or so many citizens arguing with the policeman who bawls them out for parking wrong. Nowhere outside America have I seen jaywalking so universally practised. Nowhere, inside or outside America, have I felt so secure from pickpocketing as in a Russian crowd, so secure from thuggery as in a Russian alley, so secure from holdup in a deserted midnight street as in a Russian city, so secure from offensive approach as from a Russian drunk. I don't need to wonder if the Soviet crime statistics are phony; I've been there, and I've been in Chicago.

Where there are no juveniles, there is no juvenile delinquency. Where are the juveniles? Our friend Lois Hogle, who wanted to see Russian children, decided, her first day in Moscow, that there are no Russian children. They're not in the streets after school; they're not in sports clubs. And in the summer they're not in the city at all; they're in the Young Pioneer camps in the country. I've been there, too, and I know that their parents send them voluntarily—some stay home to work or study—at irresistibly low fees. And are the little ones blotting up Communist propaganda at camp? You bet they are. We wouldn't do that in America, but we might give them a few wholesome talks on Americanism.

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MEETINGS

ST. ALBANS READERS are cordially invited to an inaugural meeting of St. Albans and District Natural Health Society: Friends Meeting Hse. Upper Lattimore Road, Friday, November 14, 8 p.m. Speaker: Dr. Douglas Lutto on "Vegetarianism for Positive Health."

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LITERATURE

BRITAIN'S OLDEST SOCIALIST WEEKLY — vigorous, forthright and consistently against war—the "Socialist Leader." Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics. Threepence weekly. Obtainable from your newsagent or from 48 Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1, and 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

FREE INTRODUCTION. Send us the names and addresses of friends likely to be interested in PEACE NEWS. They will receive complimentary copies and an invitation to take eight weeks' trial subscription for 2s. 6d. Sales Organiser, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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FOR SALE

PEACE DIARY for 1959 now available, with 32 page World Directory of Peace Organisations and Periodicals. 3s. 6d. (postage 4d.) from Endsleigh Cards (Peace News Ltd.), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. (Full Christmas List available).

SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 2 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers). Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

CND and PN Bazaar

To the Editor

I AM sure that everybody who is engaged in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament feels that we owe a debt of gratitude to the Editor and staff of Peace News. No other organ of the Press has been so stalwart in its upholding of the Campaign as this paper, and I would like to suggest a way in which some of us might make some little gesture of thanks to them.

Every year Peace News holds a Christmas Bazaar. This year it is on November 15 at the Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Rd., London, W.C.1, and we in the Hornsey Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have offered to run the Toy Stall at this bazaar. May we ask for the support of all Campaign Groups, who have a warm place in their heart for Peace News, to help us in this effort. A new or almost new toy, preferably suitable for older children, from each group would make an enormous difference to the stall. This and any other gift which groups care to send should be sent to Peace News, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, clearly marked "Christmas Bazaar."

Do please send something, and if you are in London make a point of coming to the bazaar. It is a friendly, sociable and economically well worth while outing for both you and your children.—GWEN DAIN, Chairman Hornsey Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, London, N.10.

DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to: 1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m. 2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, October 31

BELFAST: 8 p.m. Wellington Hall (YMCA). The Very Rev. George MacLeod, Mervyn Jones. CND. LONDON, W.8.: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High Street, Kensington. CO Tribunal. Loughborough: 7.30 p.m. Quest Hse. Stuart Morris "My Visit to Russia." PPU and FoR.

Saturday, November 1

BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m. George Cadbury Hall, Bristol Rd., Selly Oak. Kathleen Lonsdale "International Law and International War." WILPF. HARROGATE: 10 a.m.—5 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Oxford St. Continuous showing of "The March to Aldermaston." CND. LEEDS: 3.45 p.m. 27 The Avenue, Alwoodley Park. Deaconess Irene Bell on her visit to Israel and Jordan. Lantern slides. APF. SOUTHGATE: 7 p.m. Bourne Meth. Ch. Hugh Brock "A Personal Account of the Aldermaston March." MPF. WOLVERHAMPTON: 3—6.30 p.m. Low Hill Community Centre. Half-day School, Wilfred Welbeck, "Feeding a Hungry World." Film. Fee including tea 4s. 6d. Wolverhampton and Dist. Peace Council.

Saturday and Sunday, November 1 and 2

CRICH: 4.30 p.m. Sat.—4.30 p.m. Sun. "The Briers" Vegetarian Guest House, Crich, Derbyshire. Conference on East-West Relations. Stuart Morris. Org by Leicester PPU, Sec: Iris Martin, 9 Stanfell Rd., Leicester.

Sunday, November 2

LONDON, W.C.1.: 6-10 p.m. Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Rd., Fenner Brockway's 70th Birthday Party. Tickets 2s. 6d. from 374 Gray's Inn Rd.

Monday, November 3

ILFORD: 8 p.m. Lambourne Room, Town Hall. Women's Mtg. Diana Collins, Margharita Laski. Chair: Sylvia Brooks. "Letters from Hiroshima" (on tape). Admission 6d. CND. LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Woodhouse Lane. John Harrison on Religion in Pacifism. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

Thursday, November 6

LONDON, E.11.: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Bush Rd., Joan Wicken. "The Life of Corder Catchpool." PPU.

Friday, November 7

DERBY: Central Hall. Canon Collins. CND. GATESHEAD: 7.30 p.m. YMCA. Dr. George MacLeod, Stanley Orme, Dr. Cuttress. CND. LONDON, W.2.: 8.30 p.m. Robert Crosbie Hse., 62 Queen's Gdns. Peggy Darvell on Nuclear Disarmament. Indian Institute of World Culture. LONDON, W.8.: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High Street, Kensington. CO Tribunal. NEWCASTLE: 7.30 p.m. YMCA. Dr. George MacLeod, Stanley Orme, Dr. Cuttress. CND.

Friday to Sunday, November 7 to 9

JORDANS: Conference on "Worship and Meditation" org. by Fellowship of Friends of Truth. Details from V. G. Worthington, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.

Saturday, November 8

ALTON: 7 p.m. "Woodlawn." Beech. Firework Party. Young Peacekeepers. LONDON, E.17.: 3.30 p.m. William Morris Hall. Mtg. Walthamstow Advisory Bureau for COs. Neils Jonassen, Sec. Danish WRI. LONDON, W.1.: 3 p.m. Ch. Hall, King's Weigh House Ch., Binney St. Bazaar. Opening by Sybil Morrison. "Look Through My Living Eye." Pictures, verse, music. PPU Religion Commission. LONDON, W.C.1.: 10.30 a.m.—9 p.m. Westway Hotel, Endsleigh St., Bazaar to be opened by Lady Mayer in support of Commonwealth of World Citizens, refugees and work of IVS. RUGBY: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Regent Place. Speaker: Minnie Pallister. PPU.

Wednesday, November 12

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse. Bull St., Film "Children of Hiroshima." PPU & CND. BRIDGWATER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Hse., Stuart Morris "My Visit to Russia." Peace Group and World Friends. ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA: 7 p.m. 78a Norman Rd., "The Search for Utopia." Minnie Pallister. Bring & Buy Stall. PPU. WORTHING: 7.30 p.m. Richmond Room. Donald Soper, Harold Steele. Chair: Harold Frampton, CND.

Thursday, November 13

LONDON, N.15.: 8 p.m. Municipal Hall, The Green, Tottenham. Film "Shadow of Hiroshima." Dr. Hugh Gordon, Dr. Peter Astbury. Chair: Lady Morrison "Facts about the H-bomb." OXFORD: 8 p.m. Wesley Memorial Hall. Women's Mtg. Coun. Mrs. Olive Gibbs and Dr. Antoinette Pirie. Tape recording of the diary of a widow of Hiroshima victim. CND.

Saturday and Sunday, November 15 and 16

ST. IVES: Weekend Conference, "The Race Problem in Modern Society." Details from H. King, 18 Penventon Terr., Redruth, Cornwall. PPU & FoR.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

BRADFORD: 8.15 p.m. Broadway Car Park. Open air meeting. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.C.1.: Assemble 3 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Poster Parade to Manette St., for meeting at 4.15 p.m. PPU & PYAG.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

HALF THE EMPIRE TO DISAPPEAR!

NIGERIA to be independent in October, 1960—this is the greatest step towards the "liquidation of the British Empire" since the Indian independence was achieved 11 years ago.

At one stroke half the remaining Empire will disappear! There are now 70,000,000 people in British non-self-governing territories. In October, 1960, there will be only 34,000,000. That is the numerical importance of Nigeria.

The influence of its independence upon the rest of Africa will be immense. One cannot contemplate continuing political subjection in the rest of "Black Africa" once Nigeria is free.

Ghana began the procession of liberty in British Africa, Tunisia, Morocco and Guinea have begun it in French Africa.

I doubt if there will be a non-self-governing territory within the continent in ten years' time.

This may appear to be a reckless statement, but we do not yet realise the tempo of events in Africa.

Federation will come

French Africa, one-third of the Continent, regards the de Gaulle constitution only as a stepping-stone to independence. In Belgian Congo the "Conscience Africaine" movement will not be satisfied by its elected advisory council in Leopoldville; with the inspiration of an independent Nigeria as a near neighbour it will sweep on to self-government, to independence.

In Portuguese Angola the stirrings are less evident, but it's people are inseparable from the Congo, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea; they, too, will be caught up by the tidal wave. Before the end of this decade we shall certainly see the beginning of the Federation of the Independent States of West Africa.

The Federation of North Africa, from Morocco to Egypt, despite this week's Algerian deadlock, despite the Nasser-Bourguiba conflict, will come.

On the East, the Greater Somalia, led by the independence of Italian Somalia, in 1960, will be born. Zanzibar will follow. The greatest need on this coast is to break through the isolation of Ethiopia; but that has already commenced in her whole-hearted participation in the Accra alliance of all Africa's independent Governments. One can see in the future years the emergence of an Eastern Federation, too.

Government for Africans

The area of difficulty is British East and Central Africa and South Africa, where European settler communities resist the surge towards African democracy. But in the former a most significant event has just occurred.

There has been a tendency in East and Central Africa for the national movement to remain isolated. They hate the word "federation." This is because in Central Africa it has denoted the forced union of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias under European domination. In East Africa the national parties of Uganda and Tanganyika have feared Federation under the domination of the white settlers in Kenya.

But now the movements of East and Central Africa have come together. They have held a Pan-African conference in Tanganyika, a preliminary to the all-continental Pan-African conference to be held in Ghana in December. They adopted a "Freedom Charter of the peoples of East and Central Africa."

The European leaders in this area have been alarmed because the declared object of the united movement is to establish a "Government of Africans, by Africans, for Africans." Why not? These are African territories. There are one thousand Africans to every single European.

This does not mean that Europeans who



By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman. Movement for Colonial Freedom

have made their home in Africa will be excluded from democratic rights any more than Africans who have made their homes in Europe are excluded. Indeed, the declaration for African self-government is immediately followed by affirmations that "the movement shall fight white racialism and black chauvinism" and "shall seek liberty of the subject within the law and pledges itself to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter."

I wish that European parties which are now supreme in Kenya and the Rhodesias would make a similar declaration—and carry it out.

Incidentally, the African National Union, which has just triumphed in the elections in Tanganyika, has demonstrated its sincerity on this issue by opening its membership to all European and Asian residents. Its leader, Julius Nyerere, has invited Europeans and Asians to co-operate with Africans in the Legislature to establish a democratic society in which there shall be no discrimination of race or colour.

Mental revolution

If my voice could have any influence, I would beg the Europeans of East and Central Africa to appreciate the inevitability of African emancipation. I recognise the mental revolution this involves, the break with their European background, tradition, practice and privilege, the cleansing of prejudice.

I recognise how much Europeans have to give in technical, medical, educational, administrative and social service. It would be a great thing if European ability were given in a spirit of democratic equality; there are men like Clutton Brock and Andrew Doig who are so giving it. But it means a mental revolution.

How deep the gulf is between the European and African communities the figures of Africans registered to vote for the Central African Federal Parliament show. There are 6,000,000 Africans. There are 742 registered African voters!

The Africans entitled to register are limited, but the trifling number of those who have done so illustrates the effectiveness of their boycott and their absence of confidence in the European administration.

Women's resistance

South Africa is even more difficult, but the Union cannot remain unaffected by the revolution of freedom which is sweeping the continent. The Government's humiliating repulse in the treason trial, the wonderful resistance of the African women to the pass laws—the voluntary imprisonment of 800 women in Johannesburg last week reminded one of the Gandhi days—and the demand for self-government in the three British protectorates are writings on the wall.

I began by acclaiming the prospect of Nigerian independence. I meant to pay my tribute to the Nigerian representatives who have shown that they place the freedom of their country before regional interests. I meant to pay my tribute to Mr. Lennox-Boyd for his chairmanship of the conference. But in fact the significance of the conference for the whole of Africa, which I have tried to convey, is the greatest tribute of all to what Nigeria has done.

Gratitude to its people and leaders is due from all who believe in freedom.

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INTER-RACIAL FARM ELECTIONS BRING HOPE

From RICHARD BAKER
PRIMARY election defeats of two politicians who sought to eliminate the inter-racial Koinonia Farm in the Deep South of the USA marked the first really good news of that communal village's situation since they began to be bombed and shot at in 1956.

Election to the State Senate of Robert Jordan, brother of Clarence Jordan, founder of Koinonia, also probably helped that Deep South pacifist community. Located near Americus, Georgia, United States, Koinonia has been persecuted for over two years for refusal to maintain a colour bar.

Defeated were Wm. T. Bodenhamer, who pledged to confiscate Koinonia's property by an Eminent Domain law; and incumbent Jack Murr, who had introduced a resolution to investigate the community—presumably to seek means to outlaw it.

Bodenhamer, a Baptist preacher, was a candidate for State Governor; Murr sought re-election in the State Legislature.

LOCAL BOYCOTT

The primary election winner for the Governorship was the present Lieutenant Governor, Ernest Vandiver, a segregationist, but apparently not interested in eliminating or persecuting Koinonia. A Democrat (thus a member of the only strong party in the area), his election will be a mere formality. Bodenhamer had extensively denounced Koinonia, linking Vandiver with the community, because Robert Jordan had been Vandiver's chief aide for three years.

A trip of "30 to 40 miles for dental and some medical care" is necessary for Koinonians because doctors and dentists have been coerced into joining the boycott of the farming community.

Farm supplies and other needs involved in the boycott can be obtained if the community travels far enough.

But one local merchant, tired of the boycott, requested Koinonia's patronage.

THE recent spate of memoirs from Generals and Field Marshals makes very clear the difference in the soldier's mentality from the ordinary civilian's. Reading Montgomery's Memoirs makes it plain that human lives, as such, are not important; men in the armies are important only so far as they are obedient fighting units.

As battles are planned out on maps and paper by the leading generals, the probable casualties of any engagement with the enemy are also reckoned up; they are calculated and allowed for in the light of results, and are never considered as the human tragedies that in fact they are.

Montgomery's contact with the men whom he would order into battle was designed for the purpose of giving them confidence; he tells in detail how, before the invasion of Normandy, he toured England, Wales and Scotland visiting every formation which was to take part in the assault. He wanted to see the soldiers, and he wanted them to see him, so that when the time came they would do what he told them. What he did not tell them was that his plans included thousands of them dead, and thousands more mutilated and maimed.

This is war, and war does not permit interference by any human element except in so far as men in the army must be fed and clothed and kept as comfortable as possible in the circumstances.

Quemoy: Ike's Ad-man says 'Remember Alf'

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

A ROUND-UP of the American protests at US brinkmanship in the Formosa Strait shows that actions are gaining momentum.

President Eisenhower found himself face to face with one of the protest actions (front page picture) when he arrived at the Civic Auditorium in San Francisco on Tuesday last week. Two hundred pickets, members of the Northern California Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons, stretching the full length of the block, marched up and down before the Auditorium entrance distributing leaflets.

Forty-five eminent persons, including Lewis Mumford, Stuart Chase, Dr. Erich Fromm, Rev. R. J. McCracken, Walter Millis and Eleanor Roosevelt, published a large advertisement in the Oct. 7 issue of the New York Times entitled "America Needs a New Foreign Policy."

In New York the Independent Socialist Party organised a 70-person picket outside the UN headquarters of the Nationalist Chinese. In Brooklyn the Neighbourhood Committee for Peace in the Far East adopted a programme of providing speakers and collecting petition signatures at meetings of parents, welfare, political and other groups, while the Brooklyn Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy is to hold a peace walk on Nov. 1 to call for a test ban agreement and renunciation of nuclear war in the Far East.

Prominent critic

The Peninsula Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Tests held a rally on Oct. 6 at Palo Alto, California, attended by a crowd of 400. Co-operating were the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Quakers, and the World Affairs Committee of the Unitarian Church.

Other groups who have made protests include the Friends Peace Committee, Greenwich Village "Sane" Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, the Liberal Party, the Socialist Party and others.

Among a number of prominent critics of America's China policy was Bruce Barton, a former member of Congress and the most important advertising man in the US—his firm handles the Eisenhower Administration advertising.

The resumption of nuclear tests by the USSR was called "a contradiction to the example they set by unilateral renunciation" in a letter to Mr. Khrushchov from Canon Collins on behalf of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

In a letter—which must have been painful reading for Eisenhower—to the New York Times last month Bruce Barton declared: "Our so-called policy of saying to the United Nations and the world: 'We will not

recognise China; we will only recognise Chiang Kai-shek,' is just about as sensible as though China should say to us: 'We will not recognise the Eisenhower Administration; we will only recognise Alf Landon.'"

"Alf at least lives in the United States and not in some island in the Pacific. Chiang does not even live in China. Certainly the events of the last several years are a very clear indication that he never will."

*Landon was the candidate for President whom Roosevelt so crushingly defeated in 1936.

International entertainment at MP's birthday party

CABLES to Fenner Brockway have been coming in from all over the world, bringing greetings for the 70th birthday of "The MP for the Colonies."

A birthday gathering has been arranged for Sunday, November 2, at 6 p.m., the day after his actual birthday, in the Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road, London.

The programme for the evening includes performances by Cypriot and West Indian dancers and an African group, solos by Nadia Cattouse, the West Indian guitarist, and Frank Merrick, the British concert pianist, who, like Fenner Brockway, was imprisoned as a conscientious objector in World War I. There will be dancing to an African band.

Presentation

To complete the international atmosphere there will be songs at the piano by Arlo Tatum, the American Secretary of the War Resisters' International, and folk songs sung by the International Choir.

Old friends from the No Conscription Fellowship of World War I will be there with African students and veterans of the campaigns for colonial freedom; representatives of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, constituents from Slough, prison reformers and Peace News readers. A watch and a cheque is to be presented to Fenner by the Tunisian Ambassador,

Taieb Slim, if he can return to London in time.

Tickets may be obtained from the ad hoc Birthday Committee, 374, Grays Inn Rd., W.C.1, price 2s. 6d., or at the door.

Saturdays in the West-end

THE Pacifist Youth Action Group have agreed to co-operate with the Peace Pledge Union Campaign Committee in organising a poster parade through the West-End of London each Saturday afternoon, leaving Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, at 3 p.m. and ending up in Manette Street (Foyle's Corner, Charing Cross Road) with an open-air meeting.

On Oct. 18 Sybil Morrison secured a good crowd and was bombarded with questions.

To-morrow, Nov. 1, in view of the postponement of the Area Conference at Worthing, Sybil Morrison will be there again.

MISSING POSTER BOARDS

Anyone having poster boards marked "EPF," lost at the end of the June 22 March on London, is asked to return them to Roy Smith, Epsom Peace Fellowship, 8 Links Road, Epsom, Surrey.

anything to chance, so urges his troops to perfect their marksmanship; Lord Montgomery did all he could to make his troops fit for the massacre, but the revelation of mistakes and disagreements at top level make frightening reading.

It is more than time that men and women of common sense and humanity came to the rescue of the victims in this high-powered game, and said No to it once and for all.

December First is ...

PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY

Do not forget to send a Christmas greeting to the world's gaoled war resisters. A list of those whose names and addresses are known will appear in Peace News on November 28.

A selection of 120 suitable cards, with envelopes, and greetings in many languages, is available for 21s. post free from PEACE NEWS Christmas Card dept.

ENDSLEIGH CARDS,
3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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By Sybil Morrison

SLOGAN OF DEATH

The only Eoka terrorist I'm interested in is a dead one. I'm not interested in live ones . . . perfect marksmanship is the answer . . . —General Kenneth Darling, Director of anti-Eoka Operations, Cyprus, October 22, 1958.

We took some five weeks to complete the capture of Sicily and the Eighth Army suffered 12,000 casualties. . . I had reckoned with fewer casualties. . . —Memoirs of Field Marshall Montgomery. Sunday Times, October 26, 1958.

The soldiers who, in the first world war, struggled in the mud and blood that clogged the once "fair fields" of France and Flanders, and those of a later generation, who stumbled ashore against the sweeping fire of German guns in Normandy, were urged on not by reasoned arguments but by slogans, and there was one slogan which was common to both generations: "The only good German is a dead one."

It is a phrase which embodies, in its insensitive coarseness, the very essence of war; it is an exhortation to kill the enemy, and what is the purpose of war but just that?

In Cyprus, however, the situation has been a little different, since the troops stationed there have not been told they are at war; on the contrary, they have been categorically informed that they are there to keep the peace.

The change over from a pretence of keeping the peace to an open declaration of the basic principles of war was perhaps to be expected, but what can not be foreseen is the extent to which the new orders must

carry those who obey them.

Prisoners of war have always been an unwanted responsibility to those who effect the capture; it is much easier to bury the dead than incarcerate the living, who have to be fed, and exercised and guarded by the very men wanted for battle.

The order to the troops in Cyprus is, in plain words, to shoot at sight and be sure not to miss. It is possible that the rebels are already passing the word in their mountain retreats, that live British soldiers are of no interest, but only dead ones. Such retaliation in kind is only to be expected, and cannot do anything but worsen the military situation while it does nothing to settle the real problem.

This abortive and futile method is war; if a war is fought then the more of the enemy dead, the nearer the victory. Obliteration bombing and the atom bomb were extensions of this basic conception of a means to an end; war is the means, victory the end, and chance the arbiter.

General Darling does not want to leave